T: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

444 candles, each kind in a large glass jar; bottles of *'araq*, sweet summer drink extracts, and denatured alcohol (for preheating Primus stoves and lanterns); writing paper, pens, pencils, and ink; hairpins, combs, toothpaste, and soap; flashlights and batteries—all of these on shelves set against the walls. We can generalize by saying that the stores provide the villagers with all their purchased food except bread and with small items of everyday use. Conspicuously lacking are clothes, furniture, and all household utensils except the pottery drinking jars which are carried by some of the stores. All other larger items are bought directly from Jbeyl or Beirut.

One person said that he made it a practice to patronize all the stores in order not to slight any of the proprietors. How common this practice is the writer does not know. Since the stores are so close together, patronization on the basis of proximity is not likely to be a factor in the determination of particular clienteles.

477 One would expect that the stores would be in keen competition, and, certainly, commercial competition is nothing new or foreign to Lebanon. But among the village stores there appeared to be little if any competition, and some assistance between proprietors was observed. One informant explained the situation in this way:

> Well, they *are* in competition, but you see [and here he seemed quite at a loss for words. He started again:] There is a saying in Arabic *Likull ?insaan risqahu*. It means: "Every person has his fortune." Well, you know, it really means everyone will receive his due. You see, one helps the other because later the other will help the one. But it is more than mutual help; when X helps Y, they may not want to do it, but they do it anyway because they do not want people to think that they are enemies or jealous of each other.

577 621 476 The saying which was used by this informant is a positive expression, similar in connotation to the lilies of the field passage in the Sermon on the Mount, of the fatalism which is commonly attributed, with some justification, to the Arabs. We might elucidate its full meaning by paraphrasing it as follows: "You will get your just reward in whatever you are doing if you behave justly." In this case, behaving justly involves the kind of mutual help within an in-group (the village) which is essential to its solidarity. But also, in a wider sense, it is the writer's opinion that among the Arabs, competition for its own sake is not a *generalized* behavioral value, though they do come close to this in their social and cultural group rivalries. Furthermore, none of the four proprietors concerned in this matter is dependent solely on his store for his income. Each is a landowner and maintains his property for agricultural purposes.

444 67 [265] Turning, now, to the function of the stores as meeting places for the men, we are reminded of the interesting notion, set forth by Kohn (1956, p. 70), that in the Mediterranean area generally, the center of personal and social life is the open, public place—forum, agora, coffee house, and open shop.

In *Mansif*, there is no coffee house and the stores to some extent take the

361 [795] Of the other three project village there is one mosque. There are no Christian churches here as this region is populated by Moslems of the Shee'ah sect. These are often referred to as Metwalis and and are followers of the descendants of Ali.

362 The 912 dwelling units in the five project villages house an average of 6.1. persons per unit. A positive building trend has taken place in the area during the past five years. For this period, only 'Adloun reported more buildings torn down or otherwise made uninhabitable than were constructed. In the other four villages the opposite trend was reported. No attempt was made to determine the types of units constructed and heavy reliance should not be placed on Table IX, «Construction Trend in Last Five Years», for the data in this table are subject to a high degree of error.

Business and Industry

444 265 In the project villages the business district generally is composed of a few small shops selling meat, grain, groceries, small items of hardware, and a limited amount of other items. In these five villages there is a total of thirty-four small shops. There are 17 general stores, 11 meat stores, 2 barber shops and 4 cafes. As the shopping centers of Beirut and Saida are easily accessible by low-cost bus transportation, general stores carry only those items in heavy demand. Several of the cafes service the main Beirut-Saida-Tyre road. Of all the businesses, only these cafes employ the services of personnel other than the proprietor. Only the village of Loubya lacks any form of business center.

It is interesting to note that in these small villages the meat shops often cooperate by assigning specific days of operation for each shopkeeper. On days allotted to one shopkeeper, the carcasses will hang from his hooks and nearby meat shops will be closed. All the stores are extremely small and require but a meager capital investment.

433 There are no power-operated factories in the project area and very few home industries or handicraft enterprises. Two hand-operated olive presses were reported at Sakaskiyah and one at Loubya. With no wood or mineral resources at hand and with no electrical power available, this total lack of village industrialization is not surprising.